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BY

HONORABLE JOHN W. FOSTER
FORMERLY U. S. SECRETARY OF STATE



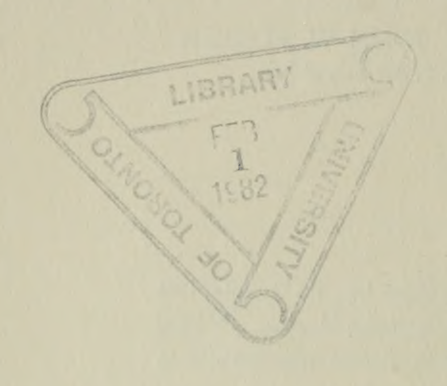
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PRESENT CONDITIONS IN CHINA

In a previous course of addresses given under the auspices of the National Geographic Society I had the privilege of speaking upon the Chinese Empire, its people and government. At that time I dwelt mainly upon its long history, its great achievements in the past, and its valuable contribution to the philosophy, science, invention, and industries of the world. I have been asked to speak at this time upon the present conditions in that Empire.

In my former address[1] it was seen that the ruling spirit which characterized this great people, numbering approximately one-fourth of the world's population, was an intense conservatism. They were justly proud of the achievements of their race, and were wedded to the principles and customs which had built up and perpetuated their Empire. They looked upon the innovations which were sought to be introduced through western civilization with a feeling of fear and aversion. Their intercourse with the nations which were the champions of this western civilization created at first suspicion, which at last ripened into hostility. The Europeans who sought intercourse with them manifested a disposition to gain their end by violence, culminating in a succession of wars, in which China was invariably worsted. The wars were attended or followed by enforced treaties, in which territory was surrendered to the Europeans; foreign settlements were established in almost every available port within the Empire, wherein the imperial government gave up a part of its sovereignty; its right to fix its customs tariff and regulate its foreign trade was taken from it; its treasury was despoiled by vast indemnities for exaggerated damages exacted under duress of arms; and in various other ways its sovereignty was infringed and its independence restricted.

[1] Published in the National Geographic Magazine, December, 1904.

A NEW ERA IN CHINA

Under such circumstances it was perfectly natural that a feeling of resentment against foreigners should pervade the Empire. But the Chinese are an eminently practical people. Despite their pride of race and their conservatism, they have come to realize that the nations which have enforced this unwilling intercourse and deprived them of so many of the attributes of sovereignty possess elements of power and prosperity which they do not enjoy. It has at last become apparent to them that the system, venerated for its antiquity, which has made of them a great and enduring race, must in the light of modern civilization be so modified in its social, industrial, and governmental features as to enable them to compete with the western nations in prosperity, power, and independence.

Hence a new era has dawned upon China. It shall be my purpose to show the steps which have been and are being taken by its government and people to bring them abreast of modern progress, and to enable them to take their proper place among the nations of the earth—a place which the vision of a political seer might fix in the van of all the nations.

Probably the most distinguishing characteristic of this ancient Empire and people has been their intellectual development and education. In the first epoch of even their prehistoric age their study of philosophy was noted, and centuries before Christ they had produced in Confucius and Mencius philosophers who stand on a level of intellectual attainments with Socrates and with the best products of ancient or modern times. We shall see that they possessed a code of laws and system of jurisprudence at least contemporaneous with Hammurabi and many centuries before Justinian. For nearly two thousand years they have made scholastic attainments the first requisite to admission to the public service, and schools under the patronage of the government have for many centuries existed in every province and district of the Empire.

THE REFORM IN EDUCATION

But the curriculum of education was confined to Chinese subjects—to a study of its classics, its history, poetry, system of government and society. Up to a very recent date an educated Chinese knew little or nothing of the outside history of the world, its philosophy or literature, its science or economics. As a result, they ranked abroad as an ignorant race, and their public men, although possessed often of superior intellectual endowments, stood at a great disadvantage in their intercourse with foreign governments and in commercial affairs.

Besides, education was confined to a limited class of the people—to those who were seeking admission to the public service or to what were known as the literati or gentry of the community. The great mass of the population were uneducated, being unable to read or write, and almost entirely ignorant of the world beyond, although possessed of a knowlege of their local rights, with a disposition to assert them. To this ignorance was added a blind superstition, which influenced their every-day life and especially their intercourse with foreigners.

It became evident, not only to the rulers, but to the intelligent people, that China could never attain her true position among the nations until a radical change was made in its educational system. First, the course of study must be entirely changed the old method of an exclusive instruction in Chinese studies be given a subordinate place, and the modern course, or what is known as the western learning, assigned to the prominent position; second, the schools must not be confined to the literati and aspirants for office, but extended to the common people as fully and as rapidly as possible.

Following this program, a great change has taken place in the last few years. Intelligent viceroys like Chang Chih-tung and Yuan Shih-kai did not wait for an imperial initiative from Peking, but upon their own authority they entered upon the work of establishing schools of western learning. Other viceroys and governors, inspired by their example, fell in with the movement, and the authorities in the prefectures and districts are striving to meet the popular demand for the new schools; so

that the movement has spread rapidly throughout the entire Empire, and there is not a single one of the eighteen provinces in which the new system has not been established.

The metropolitan province of Chihli, feeling the new inspiration of the court, has done most in this direction. In Peking the new schools are rapidly increasing, and in the adjoining district of Tung Chou alone as many as ninety are reported. Under the special direction of the Viceroy Yuan Shih-kai, more than three thousand have been opened in the province and are in operation. A similar condition exists in the provinces under the sway of the venerable Viceroy Chang Chih-tung. At Nanking, the ancient capital and the seat of an important viceroyalty, the new learning has been warmly received. It will indicate something of the interest shown in this direction when I mention that a Japanese gentleman, described as "of forceful personality and scholarly attainments," who is now on a visit to the leading cities of China to explain to her students and scholars the secret of Japan's wonderful progress, a few weeks ago delivered a series of lectures at Nanking which were attended by five hundred students of the collegiate institutions there. It is reported that he eloquently set forth patriotism, a broad-minded willingness to learn, and the sense of individual rights as the secret of what Japan has done and urged the Chinese to follow in the same path.

This educational movement is not confined to the ordinary common schools and colleges, but in various of the provinces there are being founded normal and agricultural institutes, manual-training schools, schools for mechanical engineering, electricity, use of modern machinery, and the like. In most of the schools physical exercise has been introduced, a complete innovation for the Chinese, and the branch of western civilization exemplified in base and foot ball, cricket, &c., is heartily welcomed by them.

SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS INAUGURATED

The most gratifying feature of the new movement is the readiness with which the Chinese have accepted schools for girls

and the rapidity with which female education, hitherto unknown, has spread throughout the country. The Empress Dowager set the example by ordering that a large Lama convent be transformed into a girls' school, and several princesses have undertaken to establish such schools at their own expense in Peking, and besides have started schools in their own palaces for their daughters and their relatives. There are now in Peking a number of public girls' schools in which are taught arithmetic, geography, foreign history, and languages, and in many of them music, drawing, calisthenics, needlework, writing, physiology, hygiene, and nursing. By an order of the board of education, no pupils whose feet are bound are admitted to these schools. As indicating the advance in female education, a project is being carried into effect by Yuan Shih-kai to establish a female medical school.

Tuan Fang, who was a member of the imperial commission which visited the United States and Europe early in the present year, has on his return to Peking awakened a new interest in female education by the report of his observations, especially in the United States, which led the board of education to take measures, it is stated, to push ahead female schools throughout the Empire without any further procrastination. Tuan Fang's idea is that graduates of female high and normal schools may be put in charge of primary schools, and, with a constantly growing number of educated women, children will have in the near future the valuable privilege of a mother's teaching at home, the real school for patriots. None, he says, are greater patriots and more loyal to a government than women.

THE LITERARY EXAMINATIONS, CENTURIES OLD IN PRACTICE, HAVE BEEN ABOLISHED

After the schools of modern learning had been established all over the Empire, the important question arose what was to become of the literary examinations, through which admission was obtained to the public service. For many centuries the competitive examinations, hoary with age and venerated by the literati and the great mass of the officials, had been the road to

imperial honor and office. If that system was to continue it was plain that the progressive men of the Empire would not be able to make the spread of modern education a permanent success. Hence in 1905 an important step was taken by them. Six of the most influential officials, together with others, joined in a memorial to the throne to abolish the ancient curriculum of studies and adopt a new one for the competitive examinations, which would embrace the modern learning as taught in the new schools. At the head of these was Chang Chih-tung, described by Minister Rockhill as the most celebrated living scholar in China; next came Yuan Shih-kai, the most powerful man to-day in the Empire, and four others, the more important viceroys and governors of provinces. It was an array of names which indicated in a most impressive way the strong hold which the reform movement had taken upon the country. Although the memorial was stoutly opposed by the conservatives in the Court circle, it was approved by the Emperor and Empress Dowager and an edict was issued abolishing the old curriculum of study and the new system adopted. Henceforth no one can pass the competitive examination who has not pursued with success the required course in modern learning.

The importance of this step can hardly be exaggerated. It was the culmination of a bitter contest for reform; but its success does not indicate the end of the difficulties for the new education. The greatest defect of the movement is that it has no well-planned and methodical system, with the power and resources to support it. Its advocates recognize this, and a central board of education has been organized at Peking to meet this difficulty. Its task is attended by serious embarrassments. Its members are themselves in large measure ignorant of their duties, and unless they call in expert assistance they are likely to make grave mistakes. There are no funds at their disposal and resources have to be provided. These will come from taxation and voluntary contributions. The latter are being made with surprising liberality, both in the capital and in the provincial cities, in some instances as much as ten thousand taels being contributed by single individuals.

OFFERINGS TO THE DEAD PROHIBITED

It will indicate something of the earnest spirit which is enlisted in this educational movement if I give one or two instances of the methods resorted to for adding to the funds to sustain it. Within the present year the commissioner of police of Tientsin, a city of over a million of inhabitants, has issued an official notification prohibiting the holding of celebrations or making offerings to the dead on the great festival of All Souls. The commissioner strongly advises the people to contribute to the educational fund the money intended to be spent in offering sacrifices to the spirits; as, he says, "with a view of equipping themselves and their families for the exercise of electoral power."

In August last the Shanghai magistrate agreed to issue a proclamation, in response to the petition of the native educational committee and the commercial association, exhorting the people of that district to divert the large sums of money used during the three festivals for the dead to the vastly more worthy and practical object of endowing and establishing more schools of modern learning. An extract from the account of these festivals in the Shanghai *News* will show how appropriate is the official exhortation for the increase of intelligence among the Chinese people. It states that immense sums of money are expended by the votaries of the Taoist and Buddhist religions in Shanghai and everywhere in the Empire in the purchase of incense, candles, paper clothes and money to burn on the three festivals of the dead to the use of the inhabitants of the nether regions, who at that time are let out from Hades to revisit the upper world. On those three days the tutelary deity of the city is carried out from his temple in solemn procession to preside over the public burning and the offering of food, "to keep order amongst the spirits and to preserve the peace amongst them." The deity is always accompanied by thousands upon thousands of devotees of all ages and sexes, in red clothes and disheveled hair, as condemned criminals, in return for some fancied answering of prayer. In addition, similar burnings and offerings of food are performed in the private houses. All of these cost the

people of Shanghai, at a modest estimate, a quarter of a million of dollars; and to this there should be added $100,000 paid on these occasions to Taoist and Buddhist priests for prayers to the dead. The enlightened Chinese officials exhort their countrymen to give up their idolatrous practices and apply the money thus wasted to the more worthy work of educating the coming generation in their duties to sovereign and country.

BUT SPIRIT OF SUPERSTITION NOT YET OVERCOME

It is thus seen that one of the first effects of the educational movement is a blow at the superstitious practices, upon which vast sums of money are squandered. The financial embarrassment which retards the establishment of schools would be solved at once if the advice of the Tientsin and Shanghai officials was followed. Many will doubtless act upon the advice of the intelligent officials, but the spirit of superstition will not easily be overcome. The troubles which the new schools encounter may be illustrated by an incident which occurred a few months ago in one of the most populous provinces. At Kweilin a provincial college had been established, and its faculty, possessed of a zeal for the new learning, caused a school-house in foreign style to be built in an adjoining district, and it soon had a hundred students in uniform in attendance. In the district for two months there had been no rain during the growing season, and, the crops being threatened by the drouth, the country people joined in a procession to the temple to pray for rain. Now, in the province of Kwangsi it is thought to be most unpropitious if the procession of suppliants for rain should happen to meet any one clothed in white or wearing a hat. This procession on its way to the temple had to pass by the new school-house, and the boys came out to see the procession, wearing their white uniforms and straw hats. This, combined with the foreign appearance of the school-house, caused angry murmurs to pass through the crowd, and very soon these culminated in a violent attack on the school and the students. Several were badly beaten and all who were caught had their white suits torn from their backs. The town magistrate intervened to restore order, but was him-

self severely handled and knocked down with a stone. Only the arrival of soldiers prevented greater damage. The crowd was dispersed leaving the school-house in a dilapidated condition. The head-master and teachers were greatly frightened, "threw up their job," and fled to the provincial college.

"THE COMING OF THE CIGARETTE"

A correspondent in the same paper from which the foregoing is taken gives an account of an accident not entirely in line with the subject I am discussing, but it is illustrative of the new spirit of enterprise which is awakening the great Empire and in which certain American interests are taking an active part. Under the heading of "The coming of the cigarette" he writes:

"Nanking has at length, for the first time in its long history, fallen a victim to Western advertisement enterprise. Two agents of the American Tobacco Company recently spent two weeks in this city, and now about the gates of our two-thousand-year-old walls and on almost every other conspicuous place one sees flaming advertisements of American cigarettes.

"The strangers seem also to have presented cigarettes with such lavish generosity to the man in the street that his suspicions have been aroused; he does not know what the hoped-for *quid pro quo* is, but feels sure that the motive was not philanthrophy. A report was therefore started that the cigarettes were injurious, and that it was a wholesale attempt to poison the people. As a result, some public-spirited students prepared a number of posters which they pasted under the new advertisements, informing the people that the tobacco contained opium or morphia and warning them against smoking to their hurt. This is said to have neutralized the effect of the advertisements in the popular mind and given a temporary check to the cigarette trade."

A COMMON LANGUAGE FOR THE PEOPLE

Returning to the subject of education, another important benefit to result from the general system of schools throughout the Empire is to provide a common language for the people.

There are many dialects in the different provinces, and on the seaboard especially between Shanghai and the southern border almost every district has its own dialect; so that it is often impossible for the inhabitants of adjoining localities to communicate with each other, except through the written language. The new regulations require the Mandarin dialect to be used in the instruction in all government schools. Hence it may be expected that the coming generation, educated in the schools, will speak a common language, and this should greatly tend toward the consolidation of the Empire.

The croakers, mainly among the foreign residents, predict that what they term the educational craze will soon lose its force, that the inexperienced board of education at Peking will not be able to skillfully direct it, that the financial schemes will prove ineffective, and that there will be in time a return to the antiquated methods. The advocates and supporters of the new education are likely to encounter opposition and disappointment before their plans are fully successful, but I believe their hopes will be eventually realized. An intelligent observer, writing from the capital of the province of Fukien, says:

"The new education has struck this place with full force. The old schools have disappeared. Everywhere one meets boys in caps and uniforms, with school books under their arms. The books are as modern as their appearance, and they are of all ages from 7 to 8 years to past 30 years. There can be no successful reaction in China now. The new educational movement all through the provinces makes it impossible."[1]

CHINESE EDUCATED IN AMERICA BECOMING PROMINENT

About thirty years ago the Chinese government entered upon the project of sending boys selected from good families to be educated in the United States. Several scores of them were placed in families and schools in New England, and the enterprise bid fair to assume very large proportions. Coincident with

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1 An interesting report on the new educationa movement, prepared by the intelligent Chinese Secretary of the American Legation Edward T. Williams, will be found in Foreign Relations of the United States 1905, p. 197.

the demand from California for the exclusion of Chinese laborers, which led to the exclusion treaty of 1880, the conservatives in the government brought about a cessation of the movement. Those who were educated in this country returned to their native land, but they were not welcomed by the then ruling powers in the government. They were in great measure excluded from the public service, for which they were well fitted; but in late years many of them have been given prominent places in the government and are now most conspicuous in inaugurating and carrying forward the reform movements of the day.

One of the important and influential persons in Peking is Tang Shao-yi (or Tong Shon Tee), one of the American educated students sent to this country in 1875. He is now a member of the Board of Foreign Affairs and the ruling spirit of that important body. He negotiated with Great Britian the new Tibetan treaty, and has recently been made one of the new customs board, having to do with both foreign and interior taxes. The Empress Dowager, to signalize her appreciation of his talent and services, has conferred on him a high rank, never before bestowed on any but Manchus of the highest order. Dr. Morrison, the well-known correspondent of the London *Times*, in a late dispatch pays a high tribute to his capacity and uprightness.

Another of the American students of the seventies is the present Imperial Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, Sir Chentung Liang Cheng. It is no flattery to say that the Chinese Empire has never before had so able a representative in Washington, a cultivated gentleman and one who appreciates the friendship and good will of the government and people of the United States. Others of the American students of that period are also filling high places in the Empire.

For the past twenty years the Chinese students in American schools and colleges have been numbered annually only by the scores when they might have been by the hundreds or even thousands. Until President Roosevelt issued his order in June of last year, putting an end to the harsh measures of the Immi-

gration Bureau, it was almost impossible for a Chinese youth to secure admission to the United States to pursue his education. We can only conjecture what might have been the influence on the destiny of that great people if the practice of sending students to America by the Chinese government thirty years ago had not been discontinued.

FOREIGN DIPLOMAS WELCOMED

One of the influences which has deterred students from going abroad has been the practice of not crediting them with the education thus acquired, but of compelling them on their return to take up the antiquated Chinese studies and spend years in preparing to pass the competitive examination which was required for admission to the lowest ranks of the public service. An imperial edict, however, was issued last year which recognized the value of foreign education to Chinese officials by conferring on quite a number of students lately returned from Japan the examination degrees and appointing them at once to official positions. But a still more important step in this direction was taken two months ago. All Chinese holding foreign diplomas were invited by the board of education to submit themselves at Peking for examination in the subjects they had studied abroad, and similar examinations are to be held hereafter annually. A large number responded, of whom 42 were admitted, 23 with Japanese degrees, 17 with American, and one each with English and German. They were allowed to use either Chinese or a foreign language. The London *Times* correspondent reports that 9 were granted the degree of Chinese doctorate, 23 that of master of arts, and 10 were rejected. It is interesting to know that of the 9 doctors 8 had studied in the United States, the highest being a graduate of Yale, and it is reported that "those who had studied in the United States proved themselves superior to all the others." The successful candidates were to have the high honor of being received by the Emperor, and their way is opened to the government service. It is gratifying to learn that graduates of the mission colleges in China were admitted to these examinations.

These measures and the encouragement of the imperial and provincial governments to study abroad have given a great impetus to the exodus of Chinese students to foreign lands. The imperial government has directed that the students in the different countries be placed under the care of the respective diplomatic representatives, and in execution of this duty Sir Chentung Liang Cheng assembled all the Chinese students in the United States in a conference at Amherst, Massachusetts, last summer, and three days were passed in comparing experiences and in considering the best methods of making their stay abroad most useful to their country.

A WOMAN'S DAILY NEWSPAPER, EDITED BY WOMEN

Not the least of the agencies which have brought about the new educational movement has been the rapid multiplication of vernacular newspapers in China. An old resident of the country, in commenting upon this innovation, writes that five years ago a man seen reading a newspaper was ridiculed as a follower of the foreign devils. Now they are published in every important town in the Empire and are widely read by the people. Today there are ten native daily newspapers published in Peking alone. One of these is a women's daily, edited by women, dealing with foreign and domestic news, politics, history, geography, astronomy, as well as the training of children and the care of infants. The introduction of women into the body politic is one of the most astonishing features of the present awakening. Our minister in communicating the details of the boycott of American goods last year to the State Department transmitted the fact that one of the largest mass meetings in Shanghai to encourage the boycott was held in the Wupen girls' school, and that it was attended "by a large number of Chinese ladies, both old and young, who followed with intelligent interest the speeches that were made at the meeting."

REVISING A CODE 2,000 YEARS OLD

The revision which is now going on in the Chinese penal code is one of the most important of the reforms which have

been recently instituted, for it tends to the accomplishment of two very desirable results—first, the relief of the people from the ancient cruel and barbarous punishments; and, second, the eventual release of the country from subjection to the very irritating practice of exterritoriality.

We are accustomed to look upon the Chinese system of jurisprudence as crude and almost barbaric. The oft-repeated statement of foreign residents that there are no lawyers in the Empire and what we hear of the methods of administering justice confirm us in this opinion. But the fact is that the Chinese people have enjoyed for very many centuries the benefit of a well-digested code of laws, embracing in large measure the elementary principles of jurisprudence which distinguish the systems of law of the present day. Two thousand years ago the reigning Emperor caused the laws, which had been enforced in the Empire for centuries before, to be codified, and the compilation constituted forty volumes, each volume being devoted to a specified branch of law. Since then this code has undergone various changes, under different dynasties, but it has remained the fundamental structure of Chinese jurisprudence.

The code as it now exists was revised and published in 1647, three years after the present Manchu dynasty began its reign. The Emperor in his preface to the publication states that a numerous body of magistrates was assembled at the capital to revise and digest the code, by the exclusion or introduction of such matter as "was likely to contribute to the attainment of justice and the general perfection of the work." When prepared, it was submitted to a select number of the great officers of state to carefully examine the whole. "Wherefore," says the emperor, "let it be your great care, officers and magistrates of the interior and exterior departments of our Empire, diligently to observe the same, and to forbear in future to give any decision, or to pass any sentence, according to your private sentiments, or upon your unsupported authority. Thus shall the magistrates and people look up with awe and submission to the justice of these institutions, . . . and be equally

secured for endless generations in the enjoyment of the happy efforts of the great and noble virtues of our illustrious progenitors." [1]

This later code, however, while preserving the enlightened principles which distinguished the ancient jurisprudence, was, we learn from the imperial edict of last year, disfigured and degraded by the introduction of the cruel and more severe punishments of the Manchus—a race more barbarous than the refined and enlightened Chinese. It is this portion of the code which has recently undergone radical modifications.

THE HORRIBLE METHODS OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT ABANDONED

The forms of capital punishment heretofore in practice have been changed to simple decapitation and strangulation. They were horrible in their methods and largely based upon superstitious ideas of the future life. The execution by dismemberment was termed in Chinese "death by slicing," or "lingering death." The offender was tied to a stake or cross and the body gradually sliced beyond recognition. It is said, however, not to have been a lingering death, as the third cut was usually the fatal one. The purpose of this sentence was not so much the torture of the criminal in this world as to make his fate more dreadful in the world to come. As his body was unrecognizable here, so his spirit will be unrecognizable in the other world, unless the fragments of his body can be brought together again. This form of punishment was reserved for such heinous crimes as high treason, parricide, or the murder of a husband.

The punishment of "decapitation, with exposure of the head," was one degree more severe than simple decapitation. In the latter case the body is delivered to the relatives, who are permitted to have the head sewn on, so that the deceased may not wander headless in the land of shades. "Beheading

[1] For further examination, see Chinese in Law and Commerce, by T. R. Jernigan, 1904.

the corpse" was the practice of carrying into execution the sentence of decapitation when the condemned had died in prison and been buried. Cases are cited where the body was exhumed and cut to pieces. Strangulation is regarded as less ignominious than decapitation, as there is no dismemberment.

Lesser forms of punishment have been branding on the arm or the face, applied to hardened criminals, which has been abolished; and corporal punishment by beating with the bamboo, which has been lightened.

It has been customary in the case of certain serious offenses to punish the relatives of a criminal as well as the criminal himself for his crime, as the Chinese law proceeded upon the assumption of the responsibility of the family for the acts of each of its members. It was an unjust procedure, but it often operated as a deterrent of crimes. This has been entirely abolished by the imperial edict.

EXAMINATION BY TORTURE AND INDEFINITE DETENTION IN PRISON ABOLISHED

It has been a common practice in the Chinese courts to examine the accused with the aid of torture. It is based upon the theory that the prisoner must acknowledge his guilt before he can be punished. The same practice has been resorted to respecting witnesses. All this has been done away with likewise. Steps have also been taken to put a stop to another serious abuse, the detention indefinitely in prison of persons charged with offenses and of witnesses alleged to be important for the conviction. Many have languished for years without a trial. It was a crying evil, especially in civil cases, as where a debtor was kept in prison until some settlement could be forced out of his relatives. The same word in Chinese is used for "prison" and "hell."

The places of confinement are said to be usually of the most wretched and filthy character. The imperial edict directs that a rigid and frequent inspection be made of them for the purpose of preventing unjust imprisonments and for improving the conditions of the prisons. The edict concludes with these words:

"Let each official be diligent in seeking the welfare of the people, and give earnest attenton to the settlement of litigation, and so fulfill the purpose of the throne to have compassion upon the lowly and to lighten their punishments.[1]

The foregoing has been a somewhat gruesome narrative, but I have thought the recital necessary in order to show what a notable advance the Chinese government has made within the past two years in the criminal procedure of its courts. And yet it does not become us to be too severe upon these Orientals for the backward state of their methods of punishment, for it has not been many generations since the Christian nations emerged from a similar regime. William of Orange, the heroic defender of the Protestant faith, the ruler of one of the most enlightened and humane nations of modern times, was assassinated by a religious fanatic. Listen to the punishment inflicted by a judicial tribunal upon the murderer: He was condemned to have his right hand pressed in a case of red-hot iron; his arms, legs, and thighs torn with hot pinchers; his chest cut open, his heart torn out and thrown in his face; the head severed from the body and stuck on a pike; the body quartered and each part placed over a gate of the city. Within a century, in England and America capital punishment was inflicted for a much longer list of and much less serious offenses than in China. Within the memory of many who hear me to-night imprisonment for debt was enforced in the United States. Happily for mankind the world around, we are living today in a better age, and China is seeking to take her place among the humane nations of the earth.

CHINA PLANS TO MAKE ITS COURTS SUITED TO FOREIGNERS

The other motive which has impelled the imperial government to this reform has been to place it more speedily in a position to follow the example of Japan and demand release from the exterritorial regime. Under this practice, as is well known, foreigners who by their acts in China subject them-

1 For edicts and notes thereon, see U. S. Foreign Relations, 1905, p. 176.

selves to criminal or civil litigation must have their cases tried before their own consul, as they are exempt from the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Besides, in all the important ports a foreign settlement is established with metes and bounds, within which Chinese sovereignty is not exercised as against the foreign municipality.

This is a condition which is very humiliating to Chinese pride and a source of much discontent, but it is a condition which must continue until the system of jurisprudence of the Empire is brought more nearly into harmony with that of the western nations, and its courts are so purified as to make it safe for foreigners to be subjected to their jurisdiction, with an assurance that justice will be administered fairly and free from corrupting influences. A long step has been taken in the direction of enfranchisement by the reforms which I have noted in the criminal procedure, but much still remains to be done. Japan had to wait for ten years, after it had entirely reformed its code so as to conform to the western system of laws and had completely reorganized its judiciary system, before the nations with which it had treaties consented to the abolition of the exterritorial regime.

THE NEW ARMY

For many generations China has been the least warlike of any of the great nations. Her most venerated philosopher and statesman, Confucius, taught its people that nations as well as individuals should settle their differences by appeals to right and justice. Consequently the soldier has occupied a low place in the social and political organization of the country. The tiller of the soil and the industrial classes have been preferred before him. But in the last century of intercourse with the Christian nations the Chinese have learned that another spirit and a different practice governs the affairs of mankind. They have seen that the blasphemous declaration of the greatest warrior of modern times, that, "God is always on the side of the heaviest battalions," governs the conduct, if not the belief, of Christendom.

They have been slow to learn this sad fact, but they have awakened at last to its reality. They did not reach this conclusion, however, until they had suffered the disastrous results of three unjust wars with European powers, and until an allied army, insignificant in numbers but powerful in modern armament, had twice invaded their territory and almost unopposed had seized the capital and dictated humiliating and oppressive terms of peace. The conduct of their comparatively small but warlike neighbor, Japan, in equipping itself with the latest methods and appliances of modern slaughter and overthrowing in armed conflict China's most dreaded foe was also a very impressive lesson.

The weakness of China, from a military point of view, has impressed strongly its rulers, and measures have been in progress for a few years past to create a numerous and powerful army, trained and equipped in the most advanced modern methods. Antedating the action of the central government, the two most advanced of the viceroys, Yuan Shih-kai and Chang Chih-tung, set to work to organize such armies, and great progress has already been made by them. In these two vice-royalties there are now not less than 150,000 soldiers, drilled and equipped on a modern military basis. Other viceroys and governors are following their example, and the imperial government is assuming the general control of all these forces, which will constitute in time an army rivalling in numbers, training, and outfit those of Japan and the military nations of Europe.

What is termed the Northern Army, under Yuan Shihkai, held manoeuvers in the autumn of last year, which were attended by the foreign military attaches at Peking, and they reported with surprise that they had seen a formidable modern army, and that they had witnessed "a display momentous and epoch-making in the history of the Far East. Similar manoeuvers were held in October last, in which divisions from the two armies took part. The London *Times* correspondent, in giving a report of these latter, says: "The

general opinion formed at the manoeuvers by the military attachés was not unfavorable, though many years' work . . . will be needed before the troops can claim equality with those of more advanced nations." It would seem that this great and populous Empire had at last laid aside its antiquated notions of right and justice, and had entered into the fierce competition of the Christian nations for preserving the peace of the world with vast armies and formidable navies.

FOREIGN ARMY CRITICISM

Some foreign military critics are inclined, however, to minimize the importance of this movement. They say that the making of an army is a matter of years; that a fighting instinct must be created and a patriotic spirit must be back of it, in both of which the Chinese race is deficient. Up to a recent period the literati who gave tone to public opinion, have looked down upon the fighting men, and it is questionable whether they do not still. Men of real influence in the army, they say, are rare and it lacks capable generals. Absolute integrity is necessary, and great corruption is known to have existed in the purchase of armament and supplies. There is no medical staff, the organization is weak in cavalry, desertion is rampant, and many other improvements are necessary before the Chinese can successfully meet a Japanese or a European army.

There is much truth in this criticism; but all of the difficulties cited may be overcome in time by persistency, of which the Chinese have an abundance, and by right methods, which they appear to be applying as rapidly as possible. The military or army reorganization board at Peking is exercising supervision over the viceregal and provincial troops and giving cohesion to them, so that they will be in reality an imperial army. It has issued orders to have turned over to it all provincial arsenals and gun factories, a great step toward military centralization. A recent edict decrees that any official having to do with the purchase of arms and army supplies found guilty of dishonesty or accepting bribes shall be decapitated; and it is said that the frauds heretofore practiced by European armament agents are now almost impossible.

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF THE SOLDIER MADE EQUAL TO THAT OF THE CIVILIAN

The low grade of the military service has been noticed. In the past a marked difference has existed between the civil and military officers of the government. A civil mandarin, for instance, is exempt from corporal punishment in case of misdemeanors, while a military officer for such offenses can be sentenced to a number of blows with the bamboo. For these reasons Chinese parents have preferred to have their sons study for the literary degree, which opened to them civil official rank and title. In the reorganization of the official grades now going on, these distinctions are to be done away and the military officers to be placed on a status of equality with the civil mandarins.

Military officers as a class have been illiterate and many of them have risen from the ranks. These defects, it is expected, will in some measure be remedied by the general system of education of which I have spoken. But there have already been established military and naval schools in a number of provinces, and I learn from the report of Secretary Williams to the Department of State that it is proposed to establish in every province two grades of military and naval schools, and in Peking an imperial military college and also a naval college, students for which will be supplied from the provincial schools just named. In addition, the imperial board of education, with a view to inspiring in the rising generation a patriotic and martial spirit, has required military drill in all the government primary and grammar schools and the wearing of a uniform by all the students.

It must be admitted that the lesson, to which I have alluded, which the nations of our western civilization have with such severity taught the Chinese, that they can only enforce respect, protect their interests, and regain and maintain their sovereignty by force of arms, is in a fair way of being put into practical operation. If they can maintain their existence as a consolidated empire for a single generation longer, as they have for thousands of years, until their army is fully trained,

equipped, and made efficient for war, and a navy commensurate with this imperial army built and put in hostile array, well may the nations which have despoiled them of their territory and treated their race with contumely and ostracism pray that they may return to the teachings of their great philosopher, who enjoined his followers to practice the spirit of the Golden Rule.

MANY RAILROADS BEING BUILT UNDER CHINESE INITIATION

Turning to a more agreeable phase of Chinese progress and reforms, the construction of railroads attracts our attention. When they were first sought to be introduced they met with intense opposition from the people, which forced the imperial government to temporize with the matter. An element of superstition entered into the question, and the disturbance of the ancestral tombs by the construction of the roads lent sympathy to the opposition. But business considerations also influenced the popular hostility. The Grand Canal, which was at the date of its construction the greatest commercial work ever undertaken, has of late years fallen much out of repair; but it still affords employment to a vast amount of capital and hundreds of thousands of people. It was feared with much reason that the introduction of railroads would leave this capital and labor without employment.

But the construction of the railway lines from Peking to Tientsin and the Manchurian frontier and from Peking to Hankow has demonstrated their utility and that they will be profitable when wisely planned. The old opposition has given way, and the entire country seems seized with a strong desire to build railroads. Mr. Hayes, the American consul at Nanking, in a report made in September last, states that 9,000 miles of such roads are in operation or under construction. He gives a detailed list of more than a score of railroads "which have been or are being built by Chinese initiative and under entire Chinese control."

Foreign interests in and out of China insist that the Chinese

are not competent, without foreign direction and assistance, to build or operate railroads, and that neither native nor foreign capital in sufficient amounts will be forthcoming for such enterprises under native control. It is probable that such enterprises will encounter serious disappointments and undergo costly experiences, and that it would be better to have a participation of foreign skill and capital; but, if the Chinese desire and are ready to enter upon such experiments, I see no reason why they should not be allowed to do so, nor why such action on their part should be construed into a spirit of hostility to foreigners. It may be added that a race which constructed the Great Wall and the Grand Canal, two of the greatest engineering achievements of all time, should naturally have a laudable ambition to build their own railroads.

THE CIVIL ENGINEERS AND ALL RAILWAY OPERATORS ARE CHINAMEN

An intelligent American observer, who has spent the last few years in China and traveled extensively in the country, says: "I think it probable that during the next twenty years more miles of railway will be built in China than in any other part of the world; and while foreigners may assist in furnishing the capital, the prime movers will be the Chinese themselves, who will insist, as far as they are able, upon retaining substantial control." He adds, that the "Chinese are reaching the point where they can dispense with foreigners in operating their railroads. The entire northern division of the Imperial Railway of China had not, the last time I traveled over it, a single white employee."[1] Apropos of the ability of Chinese engineers for railroad construction, Mr. Hayes, already cited, reports that the most difficult bridge 2,300 feet long, on this line of 526 miles was built by a Chinese civil engineer, who graduated from the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale University.

A number of concessions have been granted to foreigners

[1] The New Far East, by Thomas F. Millard, 1906.

for lines of railroads, and they are now under construction, notwithstanding the desire of the natives to monopolize this class of improvements. The effect of the operation of all these lines of public traffic will be to stimulate trade, both domestic and foreign, make the inhabitants by intercommunication more intelligent and homogeneous, and greatly consolidate the Empire by bringing its remoter sections in rapid contact with the central government.

A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT PLANNED

The reform movement in China which is attracting most attention abroad is the action of the imperial government looking toward the granting of a constitution and a representative assembly, or parliament. The step taken is very notable, but not so radical a departure from the existing regime as might be supposed. The government of China is an autocracy in form, but in few of the countries of the world is the spirit of democracy so manifest and potent. This has had a marked illustration in the changes which have taken place in the last few months in a number of the most important provinces, where at the popular demand viceroys have been removed and more acceptable ones appointed. In no other nation are the public offices so freely opened to the masses, as under the system of competitive examinations the lowest subject, with a few class exceptions, may fit himself for and obtain the highest office. There is no hereditary nobility, except of the imperial family. The Emperor recognizes himself and is recognized by his subjects as being controlled by a higher law than his own will. For many centuries the country has been governed by boards or departments at the capital, somewhat complicated, but similar in their operation to most of the political systems of the western nations. In more than one instance where the Emperor has gone contrary to the views of his advisers and the popular will he has been deposed and a new occupant of the throne chosen, who was more subservient to the established institutions of the Empire. The teachings of Confucius and Mencius, the highest Chinese authorities in governmental and social matters, were

based upon the principle of securing the common good of all; hence a constitutional form of government might well be the legitimate offspring of the ancient order in China, independent of any aid rendered by modern civilization.

It is quite compatible, therefore, with the existing principles of government to take steps toward a more formal constitutional regime. But, as becomes a conservative people, these steps are being taken with deliberation. In the first place, an imperial edict was issued July 16 of last year, after many councils as to the reforms most needed by the country, appointing two commissions, composed of prominent and intelligent officials, to visit the United States and Europe. The edict stated that "the court has repeatedly announced in plain speech that earnest efforts must be made to introduce reforms, . . . with the view to raise China from her present condition of weakness and deliver her from the dangers into which she has fallen;" and the commissioners were commanded "to inquire into the methods of the various foreign governments, in the hope that we may be thus able to select and adopt the best."

We well remember the favorable impression made by the commissioners who recently visited Washington and other cities of the United States. The two traveling commissions (as they were called), having completed their investigations, returned to Peking in August last, had several personal audiences of the Emperor and Empress Dowager, and submitted their reports in writing, recommending the establishment of a constitutional government. These reports were the subject of earnest cabinet councils, in which the conservative element of the court made determined efforts to defeat the constitutional plan, but they finally failed. It appears that Yuan Shih-kai, who was summoned to the capital from Tientsin, and Tuan Fang, the most efficient member of the traveling commissions, were the influential advocates of the constitution, and it is said won over the support of a large majority of the cabinet, as well as the Emperor and Empress Dowager.

A NOTABLE EDICT

As a result, the imperial edict was issued September 1 last, announcing the decision of the throne to grant and "adopt a constitutional system in which the supreme authority shall be vested in the crown, but all questions of government shall be considered by a popular assembly." The edict is a notable document, and I regret that I do not have the time to read it in full. It sustains the decision to adopt a constitution by citing the deplorable condition of the country which threatens danger and disaster, which can only be avoided "by broadening our knowlege, improving our laws, and keeping in the path of progress." However, before creating a constitution and a representative assembly, it says several things must be accomplished. The existing official organization must be reformed and purified; education must be extended; the finances put in order; the military system improved, and the gentry and people made to understand political affairs. In a few years, when the system shall have been studied and outlined, a form of constitution will be announced and the date for putting it in operation fixed.

FOREIGN CRITICISM

It is somewhat discouraging to note that this great proclamation, although recognized as a memorable document, has met with severe criticism from foreign sources. The most intelligent and fair-minded of these critics to which I have access is the Shanghai *News*,[1] an English daily, which has devoted to it a number of recent editorials. Its chief criticism is that no time is fixed for announcing the constitution or putting the representative assembly in operation; that the preliminary work marked out may require ten or twelve years, or even a lifetime, and thus the promised reform be postponed indefinitely, as, it is alleged, the history of China for the last half a century has been largely a record of broken promises. It recognizes that

[1] Acknowledgement is made of indebtedness to the Shanghai *News* for many of the facts stated in this paper.

it is a great ambition of a monarch to be the ruler of three hundred millions of united and prosperous people; that the granting of a constitution and parliament would increase their patriotic pride, while making them more serviceable to the throne, and if sincerely issued and carried out it would be the acme of shrewd statemanship, but that the cry for reform seems to come from those who will not reform themselves.

The answer to the first part of this criticism may be found in the conduct of Japan. In the year 1869 the Mikado took what is termed the "charter oath," promising to give the people of Japan a deliberative assembly, and in the meantime to study the institutions of other countries; but not until 1881, twelve years later, did he fix definitely the period when the promised parliament would be convened which was to be ten years later, still, before which latter date he gave assurance that the constitution would be promulgated, and he warned his people that they should "hasten slowly toward constitutional and representative government." It is too true that very many of the ruling party in China who are opposed to the reforms inaugurated are unworthy and corrupt officials; but this fact is recognized in the edict from the throne and a determination is expressed to make an earnest effort to improve the methods and morals of public administration; and the critics must admit that the men who are directing the constitutional movement, such as Chang Chih-tung, Yuan Shi-kai, Tuan Fang, and Tang Shao-yi, are serious-minded men, and will compare favorably with the statesmen of other lands for uprightness and personal integrity.

Against them there cannot be brought the criticism that the reform comes from those who will not reform themselves. There is no doubt, however, that the most serious opposition to the constitution comes from the bureaucracy. This opposition among the high officials at Peking has been so strong that Prince Tsai Tseh, the head of the traveling commissions, felt it necessary a few weeks ago to address another memorial to the throne, in which he argues that "constitutional government is beneficial both to the state and the people, but most

unbeneficial to the official classes." And he proceeds to condemn the lack of loyalty on the part of high dignitaries, who put their personal advancement before their duty to the country, and he warns their majesties against arguments springing from such selfish motives. After giving very forcible reasons in favor of a constitution, he closes with this significant statement: "If the throne does not grant the people their rightful privileges when they qualify themselves to enjoy them, they will undoubtedly try to claim them through illegitimate channels."

The criticism most strongly emphasized against the practicability of a centralized representative government is the present independent character of the viceroys and governors of provinces, who will be found unwilling to surrender their power.

WELCOMED BY THE PEOPLE

But it is to be remembered that these officials are not hereditary rulers like the Japanese daimios, but are appointed and removed at will by the imperial government, and the rule is that no one shall be appointed to a province of which he is a native or in which he has local attachments. If the viceroys are found to be resisting the policy of a constitutional regime, they may be removed and others more in harmony with the new policy appointed in their places.

Let us turn from the foreign critics and see how the Chinese people have received the promised constitution. It is too early for reports from the interior provinces, but we have news from many of the great cities and centers of population. At Tientsin, Hankow, Nanking, Shanghai, Canton and a number of other places a general holiday was declared, and the guilds, societies, and especially the schools and educational associations, united in processions and mass meetings, with patriotic addresses, and thanks telegraphed to the government at Peking, expressing their hearty appreciation of the act. It may be of interest to notice more in detail the action of the people of Canton, the most populous and wealthy city of the Empire, the farthest removed from the capital, and where it has been understood revolts and the anti-dynastic spirit are most rampant.

The report states that a general holiday was arranged, business was suspended, and "the celebration called forth the loudest acclamations of rejoicing." The chamber of commerce took the lead, and was supported by the various guilds and societies. The shops and houses were gayly decorated, processions paraded the streets, with bands of music and fireworks, and the guild houses and public halls were crowded with people, who made their obeisances before the imperial tablets, bearing the names of the Emperor and Empress Dowager, as a mark of gratitude for the gracious acts of their majesties in proposing a constitutional government for the Empire.

Afterwards the crowds listened to patriotic songs from the students of the public schools and to addresses from prominent persons. In these the hearers were exhorted to use their best endeavors and influence toward the spread of modern education, without which the country never could understand the meaning of constitutional government and the responsibility therefrom which rested upon all, male and female; and they were warned that impatience and haste in trying to bring about such government would only ruin the hopes of those who were working for the welfare of the country. Telegrams were also sent to Peking, addressed to the princes and high ministers in charge of the reform measures, congratulating them on their important labors and asking them to convey to their imperial majesties the assurances of their most loyal devotion. It is reported from Peking that their majesties have manifested great pleasure in reading the accounts of these celebrations held in the principal cities of the Empire. With such a spirit animating the people, the editor of the foreign journal may well characterize the step as the acme of wise statesmanship.

THE OPIUM CRUSADE

The imperial government, not content with undertaking the important reforms which I have noticed in education, jurisprudence, industries and politics, has also grappled with the great moral vice of its people—the opium habit. It has within the past hundred years become the crying social evil of the

country, and it is a gigantic struggle which has been inaugurated for its eradication. No one who has not passed through the interior of the country can appreciate the magnitude of the problem. It is said that nearly every family has felt the clutch of this monster vice, and it is known to have impoverished whole communities. It is, however, denied that the drug is largely used by the official class. A prominent mandarin of Peking, speaking from intimate knowledge of the matter, has stated that a very small percentage of the high officials in Peking smoke opium, and that of all the viceroys and governors only one is addicted to the habit.

This fact gives greater hope for the enforcement of the edict which was issued on September 20 last, decreeing that steps be taken for the gradual suppression of the cultivation of the poppy and of the use of opium, and that both shall be completely abolished at the expiration of ten years. The edict declares that those addicted to the habit have wasted their time, neglected their trades, ruined their constitutions, and squandered their property; that for this reason China has become poorer and poorer every year; and it exhorts the people to stop the pernicious habit, pluck out the deep-seated cancer and strive for an era of physical health.

Unfortunately it will be impossible to make the abolition of this devastating vice effective without the consent and co-operation of Great Britian. The result of what is known as the "Opium war" of 1840 secured the privilege to the British East India Company and their successor, the present government of India, to import opium into China. Frequent efforts have been made by China to have this privilege abolished, but it is a great source of profit to India, and the British government has steadily refused its consent. It is claimed that, as the poppy is much more largely produced in China than in India, so long as that is permitted in China it is a legitimate trade for India.

But there is a better prospect now than ever before to reach some agreement between the two countries. Mr. John Morley, the secretary of state for India, a statesman of liberal and

humane views, has announced in Parliament that the British government will go to the length of a financial sacrifice to assist China in any serious attempt to restrict the use of opium. Dr. Morrison telegraphs the London *Times* that "every missionary in China, of whatever nationality, and the overwhelming mass of disinterested public opinion, both official and unofficial [British], will rejoice when the British connection with the traffic wholly ceases." The bishop of Hongkong is active in enlisting the co-operation of the British authorities. He asserts that twice the House of Commons has affirmed that this connection with the Indo-Chinese trade was wholly indefensible, and that the trade increased incalculably the misery of millions of their fellow-men and tended to the deterioration of a noble race.

It is a source of great gratification to state that the government of the United States is not only free from any connection with the trade, but that American citizens have from our earliest diplomatic connection with China been forbidden to engage in it. Both by treaty and diplomatic action, our influence has been thrown against it.

It is a stupendous undertaking on the part of the authorities to suppress this vice, which has taken such a strong hold upon the people. It may be compared to the ceaseless warfare that is being carried on in this country against intemperance. Among the first measures of the government is the prohibition of the use of opium in the new army and in the public schools and colleges, and instruction as to its evil effects. A late press telegram from Peking states that several officers of the old Manchu Banner Corps have been cashiered for smoking opium, that the officials in all the yamens, or government offices, at Peking have been ordered to break themselves of the habit within six months, and that an effort will be made to apply a similar rule to officials under sixty years of age throughout the Empire, on pain of dismissal from the service.

The people also seem to be responding in some measure to the appeals of the authorities by organizing anti-opium societies. The methods of the one in Canton will indicate the

character of their efforts. The members of this society pledge themselves not to use opium, and to do all in their power to free others from its deadly grasp. They provide doctors and medicines to those making an effort to abandon the vice. They also organize street parades, in which men are dressed as confirmed opium sots, with most ragged and disreputable garments and their faces painted an ashy paleness familiar among confirmed smokers, thus exhibiting to the spectators "the awful example" of the opium fiend.

REFORMS IN DRESS AND FOOTBINDING

It would seem that the foregoing statement of the reforms undertaken in China would be sufficient to satisfy the demands of the most advanced advocates for its regeneration; but still other reforms are being urged upon the government and people. There are many who favor a change of the dress to the western style and the abolition of the queue by imperial edict. Changes in these matters are already in progress in the army and the public schools, and it is probable that they will be extended, as in Japan, without governmental interference. The abolition of slavery and polygamy is being strongly pressed. Neither of these practices has been widespread; and, while from our western standpoint they are blots upon Oriental civilization, the government may well be spared the burden of undertaking their abolition till the other important reforms it has in hand are in a more advanced stage of acceptance.

The movement for abandoning the custom of foot-binding is making progress, but it seems the most tenacious practice to be overcome. It has withstood more than one imperial edict, and the vast majority of the society women still cling to it as an evidence of refinement and fashion. The Empress Dowager seems determined upon its destruction, has recently issued a new fulmination against it, and is seeking to bring to bear official ostracism and the influence of the schools.

OBSERVANCE OF SUNDAY

The late announcement of Sunday as a legal holiday, when the public offices are to be closed, is not to be construed as a step toward the acceptance of Christianity, but is another evidence of conformity to western practices. Prince Pu Lun, a member of the imperial family, who visited our country two years ago as the Emperor's representative to the St. Louis Exposition, in answer to my inquiry as to what impressed him most in our country, said it was our weekly rest day, as in China they toiled on day after day without cessation. I have been told that one of the reasons for the step taken was that Sunday was a favorite day with western diplomats at Peking to visit the Foreign Office, the day when the officials of that department desired a vacation. Some color is given to that assertion when it is seen from the last volume of the Foreign Relations of the United States that the American minister is asking for an appointment on that day to visit the department on business.

IMITATION OF FOREIGNERS

Many parts of the country seem to have a rage for foreign ways and articles. A correspondent from the faraway interior province of Szechwan, on the confines of Tibet, writes: "I notice quite a number of the natives are wearing leather shoes made by local cobblers. What they want is a shoe that will polish and look like the foreigner's. In fact, they want everything to look like the foreigner's. They want hats like they wear in Shanghai; likewise their coats; they try to write with a lead pencil instead of a Chinese pen; they want foreign pictures for their shops. All this is a feeling after something different from their old ways of living. The next generation will want more luxuries than their fathers."

The American observer from whose book, just published, I have already quoted says: "It is not unusual to see wealthy Chinese going about in their motor cars, driven by native chauffeurs. I saw the young daughter of a high official riding a bicycle through the street in a foreign concession, attended

by a servant on another wheel. . . . Among nationalities none is to-day more disposed to take up new and improved methods than the Chinese."

CHINA FOR THE CHINESE

And yet during the past year and more the foreign press has been full of complaints that there exists in China a bitter hostility to foreigners, countenanced by the government and encouraged by the more intelligent and influential classes of the population. It is alleged that everywhere throughout the Empire the cry is "China for the Chinese," and that this means the exclusion of foreigners from all concessions and enterprises and from participation in the development of the country. To support these allegations the following, among other recent occurrences, are cited: The compulsory surrender of the Canton-Hankow Railroad concession, the Shanghai riot, the anti-American boycott, and the foreign customs supervision. Let us examine how far the facts sustain these allegations.

Much misinformation has been published respecting the repurchase of the Canton-Hankow Railroad. Only a few weeks ago so reliable a periodical as the New York *Independent* stated that the Chinese government had forced the repurchase in obedience to the demand of the Chinese Nationalists for the cancellation of all foreign concessions. The facts, briefly stated, are that out of special consideration for the United States the Chinese government granted to an American company in 1898 the most valuable franchise in its gift, a concession to build a railroad from Canton to Hankow, a distance with its branches of over 900 miles, through the most densely populated part of the country. As the government desired for political reasons that it should be an exclusively American enterprise, it inserted a provision in the contract that the ownership or control of the company should not be transferred to any other foreigners. After some years spent in vain efforts to raise the necessary capital in New York, the company did what it was expressly forbidden to do; it sold a majority of the stock to Belgians, with what was believed to be the backing of China's

most feared competitor, Russia. Besides, the representatives of the company by their overbearing conduct had incurred the hostility of the local authorities and people in China. Seven years passed without any serious effort to build the road, as only 32 miles had been constructed, and that merely a branch line. Under these circumstances the government gave notice to the company that it had forfeited its concession by reason of the sale to the Belgians, but that it was prepared to repay all the expenditures of the company. The latter then alleged it had bought back the control from the Belgians; but it was too late to re-establish itself in the confidence of the people of the provinces, and by a friendly arrangement the Government paid to the company three times the amount of its total expenditures and received a surrender of the concession.

There is a concurrence of testimony of American observers on the ground that the company by its bad conduct and unbusinesslike methods had forfeited all consideration. Hon. William E. Curtis, during a recent visit to China, wrote: "The famous American-China Development Company [the Canton-Hankow Railroad Company] has made a wretched mess of its concession and has dragged the honor and credit of American capitalists across about 700 miles of Chinese mud and dust."

Mr. McCormick, the agent of the Associated Press during the Russo-Japanese war, just returned from China, in a recent article in the New York *Outlook*, says that the company clearly broke its faith with the Chinese government, and that its conduct, more than any other fact of our intercourse, tended "to destroy American prestige and damaged every American enterprise in China." Mr. Millard, a well-known correspondent, gives in his book an account of the company, fully confirming the other American writers above cited, and concludes: "Thus ignominiously terminated the first important project ever launched under American auspices in China." It may be added that, so far from the Chinese being governed by a spirit of hostility to foreigners in this matter, the present native company, under which the railroad is now being built, is ordering passen-

ger cars and other rolling stock from American manufacturers.

The Shanghai riot of a year ago, which was greatly exaggerated in the press reports and led to the assembling in that port of the war vessels of our western powers, including the United States, grew out of the attempt of the foreign authorities in the settlement to exercise control over a Chinese woman charged with a misdemeanor. A full account of this riot was given by Mr. George Kennan, of this city, then in China, in the *Outlook*, in which the Chinese authorities were vindicated. Such was the conclusion of the American Consul General. The British Minister for Foreign Affairs, in discussing the riot in the House of Commons, stated that the Chinese judge was right in the case, and that the attempt of the municipal authorities to exercise jurisdiction was "unfortunately an act that was not warranted by our treaty rights. . . . It shows the danger of encroaching on Chinese jurisdiction in these foreign settlements."

So far as the anti-American boycott is concerned, to vindicate the conduct of the Chinese people there is need only to quote the language of the President of the United States in his message to Congress, in which he says that "in the effort to carry out the policy of excluding Chinese laborers, Chinese coolies, grave injustice and wrong have been done by this nation to the people of China." And he clearly states the cause in this language: "The main factor in producing this boycott has been the resentment felt by the students and business people of China, by all the Chinese leaders, against the harshness of our law toward educated Chinamen of the professional and business classes." The boycott was but the ebullition of the hour, in which the patriotic spirit of resentment of the sedate Oriental boiled over for the time; but the usual friendly feeling for America soon reasserted itself, even before the amendments of the law promised by the President were voted by Congress. I venture the assertion that every fair-minded American citizen applauded the Chinese demonstrations of resentment, and his only regret was a feeling of humiliation that his country should

be guilty of so flagrant a wrong to a proud but unoffending people.

A great outcry has been raised, especially in British journals, because of the creation during the present year of a new commission of two prominent Chinese officals, called the "Customs Board," because it was supposed that it was the intention to supersede Sir Robert Hart, a British subject, who for forty years and more has so successfully managed the maritime customs. The Chinese Government, however, has given positive assurances that it had no such intention. Sir Robert, who continues at the head of the customs, has issued a circular stating that no change was to be made, and another of the evidences of the Chinese hostility to foreigners is shown to have no substantial foundation.

The cry of "China for the Chinese," which is most heard among the students returned from Japan and other foreign countries, has given rise to the fear abroad that the Empire was on the eve of another uprising against foreigners, such as the Boxer outbreak of 1900. Foreign powers having citizens or interests in China were advised to strengthen their navies in those waters, and it was even said that it was the purpose of our government to reinforce the army in the Philippines, so as to have an available force near by for the expected emergency. But such fears thus far have proved illusory. Notwithstanding the anti-dynastic societies, the spirit of unrest occasioned by the reform measures, the rice famine, and other disturbing causes, the past year has been more free than usual from public disorders—would it be an invidious comparison to say, less dishonored by riots and lynchings than the United States?

There have been some outbreaks of race hatred, but they have been due in large measure to exceptional and local causes. The Lienchou massacre of the Presbyterian missionaries was a lamentable occurrence; but the missionaries exonerated the authorities from any deliberate negligence or sympathy with the rioters, and full indemnity has been made for the losses. It appears that there still remain some vestiges of the Boxer organization. A correspondent, writing in August last from the

interior province of Shensi, in which the Court took refuge when the allied army occupied Peking in 1900, gives an account of the sudden appearance in a small town, the scene of the story, of a band of Boxers. They assumed a threatening attitude, especially toward the foreigners in the town, and the latter were compelled to seek refuge in the yamen or office of the town magistrate. The Boxers followed, demanded food from the magistrate, and also authority to kill the foreigners. By this time the whole town became completely terrorized, the merchants closed their shops, and the people were in a state of panic. After receiving food the Boxers withdrew to a large temple in the town, announcing their intention to kill the foreigners and Christians the next day.

Their plan, however, was frustrated by the opportune arrival of a German lieutenant, on his way from Mongolia to Peking. He infused some backbone into the people at the yamen, and on the following morning he induced a small force, which could muster only twelve rifles in all, to follow him to the Boxers' quarters. In the skirmish which ensued, after a brief parley, eleven Boxers were killed, and many others wounded, and the remainder taken prisoners. That put an end to the Boxer troubles in that province. This prompts me to say that if at the opportune moment, not a German lieutenant, but a resolute officer of the law had appeared at Springfield, Ohio, or Atlanta, Georgia, and laid his hands on or, if need be, shot down the hoodlum leaders, our country and our civilization would not have been disgraced a short time ago with the barbarities there perpetrated.

REFORM OF FOREIGNERS

It is true that there does exist in China a certain feeling of resentment against foreigners; but, in view of the spoilation of their territory, the enormous indemnities exacted, and the disposition to establish a foreign monopoly for the exploitation of their industries and mines, it must be admitted that this feeling is not without some justification. Colonel (Chinese) Gordon said forty years ago that the Chinese "have suffered much

wrong from foreigners who have preyed on their country." The occurrences since that time have intensified this fact. So, also, the conduct of most foreigners, the missionaries excepted, in their intercourse with the natives has been truthfully described as masterful, high-handed, and generally overbearing.

An interesting discussion of this subject has been going on recently in the Shanghai *News*. A native, who signs himself "A long-gowned Chinaman" and is vouched for by the editor as a cultivated and educated gentleman, has stated the Chinese side of the question so forcibly that I cannot do better than quote some of his views. In his discussion with the editor he writes:

"The movement of what you call the Young China party, erratic perhaps now in many ways, has its root in the intense feelings of the Chinese people that they have not been fairly and justly treated by foreigners. The true aspiration at the bottom of this movement which is claiming China for the Chinese is to ask for a readjustment of our relations with foreigners on a fair and just basis. The one true and principal object which the people of China in their hearts want in this matter of reform is not so much railways, not new learning, not European luxuries, not European civilization—what the people of China in their hearts want is to bring about the reform of the foreigners in their way of dealing with the Chinese. A sagacious Englishman in Hankow once said to me, 'What fools these people in Shanghai are. Why, if the Chinese really succeed in their reforms, do you think we foreigners in China would have such a d—— good time as we are having now?' In a word, the Chinese people want the foreigners in China to reform by knocking out of their heads the idea that God has created the three hundred odd million Chinese for the British and other nations to trade upon, to make a living out of them. The only way to abate the fever and intensity of feeling against foreigners is to begin the reform in China at both ends, on the foreign side as well as on the Chinese side."

IMPROVEMENT OF THE CITIES

I cannot close this review of the present condition of China without a reference to the improvements going on in some of the principal cities. These are very noticeable in Shanghai, in the new, enlarged and more attractive public buildings and private residences, the extension and improvement of the streets and the increased facilities of locomotion and suburban travel. Shanghai is, however, under foreign control and the improvement, while an indication of growing wealth and commerce, is mainly the development of western enterprise. Of the native cities, Hankow has shown much growth and improvement, but the two cities giving greatest evidence of progress and improvement are Peking and Tientsin.

Few things in civilized life are more repulsive than the interior of a native Chinese city, and this was especially the case with Peking until the past few years. Since the occupation of the allied army, and especially in the last two years, a marvelous transformation has taken place in the capital. The former broad thoroughfares, undrained, unpaved and reeking with filth, have undergone a wonderful change. In the center there has been constructed a wide macadamized road, with a parking on each side planted with trees, and next to the houses a paved sidewalk is laid with curbing and drain. A system of sewers has been adopted, and the city presents the appearance of having been thoroughly swept and garnished. A uniform police force adds to its city-like appearance. A telephone and electric service has been established.

The transformation of Tientsin has been even more effective and complete. It received its first impulse under the International Government which was established during the foreign allied occupation, and of which Hon. Charles Denby, Jr., was the secretary and active executive officer. The native municipality, one of the largest in the Empire, has been so changed that an old resident absent for a few years would hardly recognize it. The old wall which surrounded the land side has been entirely removed and replaced with a wide boulevard, paved and planted with trees, extending also along the

waterfront with an electric tramway traversing its whole extent, lined with attractive shops. The former houses, all of one story, of unburnt brick or of thatch and reeds plastered, are giving place to others of larger proportions and of substantial construction in European style. Many of two stories, and indicating a degree of comfort which could not have been dreamed of a few years ago. The process of widening the interior streets, tearing down walls, and the construction of more sanitary dwellings, besides improving the general aspect of the city, has also greatly improved its health. The lighting and police arrangements are of a similar character, and it enjoys the blessing, possessed by few of the native cities, of an abundant supply of pure water, introduced by the International Government. With these improvements there has come an intense activity in business. This renovation of the native Chinese cities must have a marked influence in strengthening the reform movement in all the departments to which I have referred.

CONDITION OF MANCHURIA

In one respect the country still suffers from the effects of the Russo-Japanese war. Manchuria continues to be held by the two belligerents, greatly to the injury of foreign trade, and especially of that of the United States. Until Chinese sovereignty is restored and custom-houses are re-established, foreign commerce, except that of Japan and Russia, is practically excluded from that vast region. The responsibility for this unsatisfactory condition seems to rest upon Russia. Soon after the war closed, the Japanese government sent a special embassy to Peking, and a treaty was made adjusting all questions with China growing out of the war. The negotiations with Russia to the same end have not yet been concluded, owing, it is said, to the unreasonable demands of the latter; meanwhile foreign commerce suffers and the Chinese government is excluded from its sovereign rights in its own domain.

Dr. Morrison, who has recently returned to Peking from

a visit to Manchuria, reports as a result of his observations that Japan is faithfully fulfilling its obligations with regard to the withdrawal of troops and trade matters. During the last summer a commission of British and American merchants of Shanghai visited Manchuria to look into the trade conditions, and in their report they vindicated the Japanese government from purposely interfering with or placing any obstacles in the way of foreign commerce with that important part of the Chinese Empire. Chinese custom-houses are now being established at Dalny, Newchwang, and other southern ports; but so long as Russia holds possession of the northern section and allows the free import of Russian goods, other foreign countries will be placed at a disadvantage. At present the prospect is very unfavorable for the Chinese government to regain its control of the vast and productive province of Manchuria, the ancient home of its present dynasty.

INFLUENCE OF OTHER NATIONS

In the time allotted for this lecture it will not be possible to speak in any detail of the part already taken and to be taken by foreign nations in the reforms and transformations in China which we have been considering. The greatest factor has been Japan, not so much through its direct interposition as by its example and achievements in its use of western methods. Its proximity and its ability to aid in the reforms, especially in education and in military development, are likely to make its people the most active foreign participants in the regeneration of China, although in some parts of the Empire there have been manifestations of hostility to Japanese activity in its affairs. It is to be borne in mind that whatever impress is given by Japan will be in the methods of western civilization, for it is through these she has grown powerful. I do not think that Japan or any other one foreign power is likely to exercise a dominating influence in Chinese affairs. The race has in the past ages demonstrated its cohesive power and its ability to maintain a distinctive nationality, and the reforms now in progress will tend to give it greater cohesion and independence.

It is gratifying to note that the government of the United States has always maintained toward China a disinterested friendship. The outcry against Chinese immigration has led Congress at times to harsh legislation, but our diplomatic relations with that country have ever been harmonious, and at times in critical periods our attitude has been most helpful to that Empire. This was notably the case during the Boxer troubles and at the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war. Our commercial relations, for a few months only disturbed by the boycott, are destined to increase with the development of that country and the large number of new places opened to foreign trade. It is also pleasant to be assured that, notwithstanding the late rumors of hostility, the American missionaries are prosecuting their work with less opposition than ever before, and that they are being most useful in aiding in the great educational movement. The legation in Peking reports to the State Department that "the missionaries have every reason to be proud of their past record as educators in China, for, although their influence has been indirect, the present movement owes very much more to them than appears upon the surface."

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The work of reform upon which China has entered is a herculean one. Many well-informed foreign observers predict that the movement will break down and the reaction will bring the country back to its ancient conservative ways. There are no doubt many obstacles in the way of success. The Chinese are attempting to bring about in government and society in a very few years what it required centuries for the Anglo-Saxon and other European races to achieve. I have referred to the deliberation with which Japan emerged from her conservative ways and placed herself abreast of modern civilization.

But the very example of Japan makes it possible for China to accomplish the same task more speedily. It is said that the action of Japan in calling to her aid foreign experts in the different departments of reform should be followed by China. I think it would be wise for her to do so to a limited extent.

But the situation is different to-day from that of Japan forty years ago. She had suffered few outrages at the hands of foreigners and felt little or no resentment toward them. Then none of her public men had been educated abroad, whereas China has thousands of subjects who have been educated in America and Europe in all departments and are well able to lead in the reform movement.

There is no doubt a spirit of unrest in the Empire which the anti-dynastic secret societies are fomenting, and the country is exposed to the dangers of revolt, which in the last century were so disastrous; but as the nation outlived them then, it is likely to do so again. Besides, there has been of late a marked manifestation of a spirit of patriotism. The last birthday of the Emperor, it is reported, was observed more generally and with greater heartiness than ever before. I have already spoken of the enthusiasm with which the announcement of a constitutional government has been received. The anti-American boycott, although ephemeral, was a surprising demonstration of popular spirit. The Shanghai riot, which startled the world, showed that the Chinese will no longer permit their rights to be invaded with impunity.

The Boxer indemnity is furnishing another evidence of popular feeling. This outrageous imposition, more than double the Japanese war indemnity, is a standing disgrace to the Christian nations—an exaction which Secretary Hay labored to avert, and which, it is understood, he and President Roosevelt thought should no longer be enforced by our government at least. The indemnity was beyond the financial resources of the nation, but thus far the semi-annual installments have been promptly met. To do this, however, an appeal to the people was found necessary. This appeal was responded to by the imperial princes and high officials of Peking and by the officials of the whole country down to the eighth grade, who have agreed to contribute one-fifth of their salaries until the whole indemnity has been paid. Their example has been followed by the gentry and merchants, guilds, societies, Christian churches, primary schools, and all classes contributing liberally

according to their means. The press recently reported the action of the barbers' guild of Peking resolving to contribute annually $600 and calling on like guilds throughout the Empire, which, if responded to, would yield alone a half a million of dollars. The barbers belong to one of the lowest classes in Chinese society, no son or descendant of which to the third generation can aspire to a literary degree or a public office; and yet they have come forward to show their patriotism and love of country in its hour of need. An American resident of Peking, describing this popular manifestion in the *Century* magazine, characterizes it as "one of the most remarkable movements the world has ever seen." [1]

In the light of these illustrations of Chinese patriotism, we may confidently express the hope that the day is not far distant when the reforms upon which this great people have entered may be in large measure realized; when education shall be generally diffused throughout the country; when the judicial system and the laws shall be made to conform more fully to those of the western nations; when the army shall be raised in numbers commensurate with the population and brought to the European standard of efficiency; when railroads shall bring the various provinces into direct communication with the capital and with each other and commerce shall have free development; when a constitution and representative government shall be established; when it shall be freed from the bondage of exterritoriality and exercise unrestrained control of its tariff; when the evil effects of opium shall be restricted, if not entirely removed; when the people shall have accepted the best features of modern civilization—then will the Chinese Empire be accorded and take its proper place in the family of nations.

That day I believe is not far away. When that day arrives there will be a new alignment among the great powers of the earth and new features introduced into politics and society, not for the hurt, I trust, but for the betterment of humanity. On that day we shall comprehend more fully the great truth

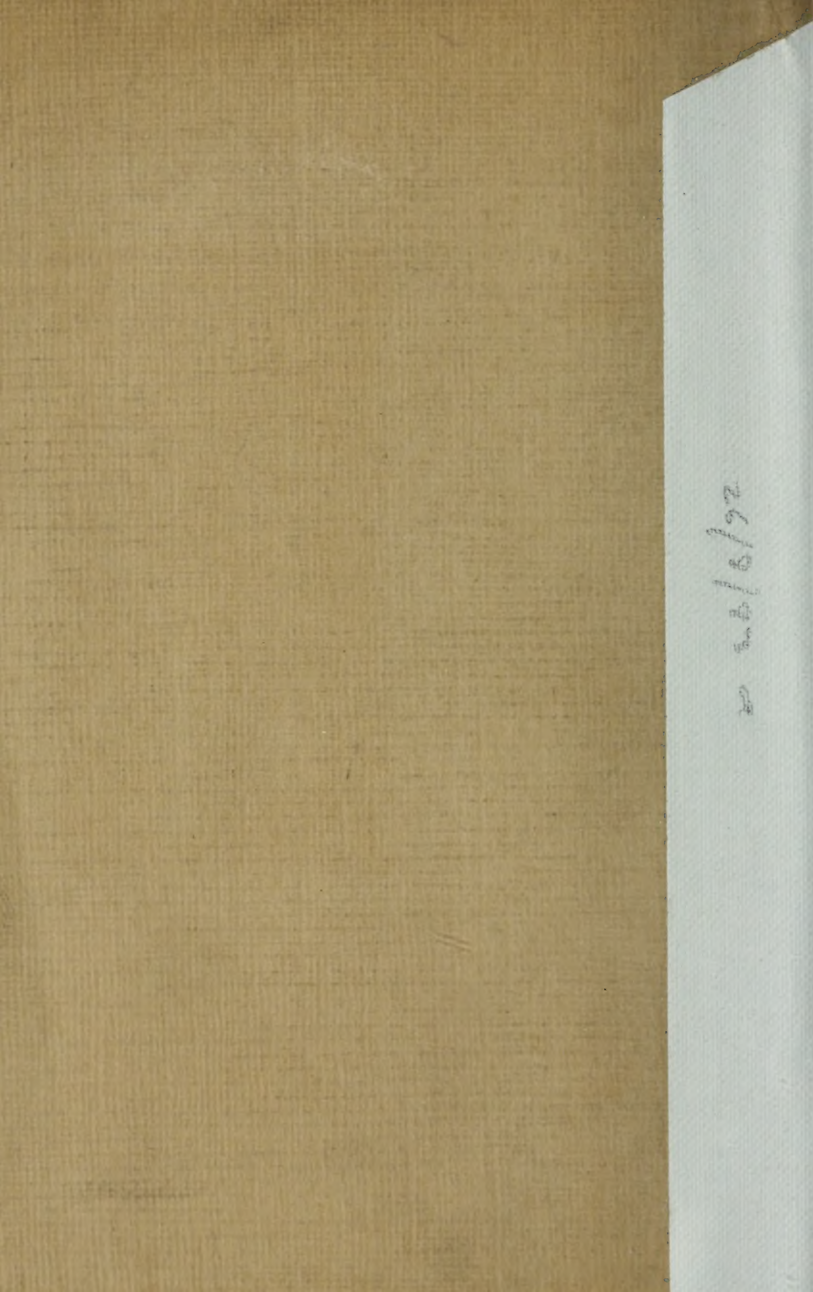
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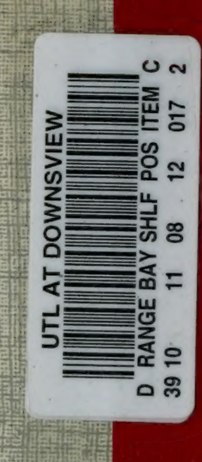
[1] Dr. Griggs, in the *Century* magazine, July, 1906.

proclaimed on Mars' Hill two thousand years ago, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth," and that all races are entitled to equal treatment in law and government.

Copies of this pamphlet may be ordered from the Student Volunteer Movement, No. 3 West Twenty-ninth Street, New York, at 10 cents each, 80 cents per dozen, $5.00 per hundred, express charges prepaid.






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